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The First Century of Art in Rochester---to 1925

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The history of art in Rochester, as perhaps in most American inland cities, has progressed through several characteristic stages. Although, as a frontier town, it scarcely attracted artists as residents, yet a few visitors with sketch books, a number of portrait or scenic painters, and an occasional religious painting on tour quickened local sensibilities. After the mid-century, when fortunate residents began to travel abroad, the inspiration of European art prompted several to purchase copies of old masters and some original paintings and created a climate in Rochester favorable to the activity of a group of professional artists who looked to Europe for inspiration. The establishment of the Powers Art Gallery in the seventies nurtured this development, and when that gallery closed, following the death of Daniel Powers, local art groups strained every effort to replace it. Finally the opening of the Memorial Art Gallery in 1913 realized that goal at a propitious moment, for new trends abroad were reaching America, presenting a challenge to local comprehension and creativity that only a teaching gallery could meet. The pattern of Rochester's response became fairly evident by 1925, meshing with the broader task of community integration, but let us turn back and trace these developments in greater detail.

Portraits of the Founders

The first artists to visit Rochester were curious travelers en route to Niagara who stopped off to see the romantic loveliness of the Genesee falls, too. The sketches made here by Captain Thomas Davies, just two

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hundred years ago, were probably the earliest, to be followed in 1797 by those of Count Beaujolaïs, brother of Louis Philippe, future king of France. Two decades later, Charles A. Lesueur and Jacques Milbert, both French naturalists, and other artists, paused here briefly, making drawings or paintings that provide an interesting documentation of Rochester's early beginnings.¹ Travelers with sketch book in hand soon shared passage on incoming stages with a number of journeymen painters ready to do a portrait or a shop sign. Most of this group were Americans, largely self taught, but already the school of American artists, which had grown up in the older communities on the coast, had developed men of ability, some of whom had studied in England, and their efforts to awaken an appreciation for art in America soon reached Rochester.

A good likeness was the chief object of the early portrait painters who visited or located in Rochester in the 1820's. Few of these early itinerants stayed long, but Horace Harding, Daniel Steele and one or two others helped to make the Clinton House, kept by J. L. D. Mathies, Rochester's first art center. Mathies daubed with paints himself, and while his attempt to establish a commercial gallery with William Page, a dealer from New York, proved premature, his own portrait of the Indian chieftain, Red Jacket, occupied a position of honor in the hotel parlor and interested many travelers. Grove S. Gilbert, who had stopped in the town briefly in earlier years, returned in 1834 to make the newly chartered city his permanent residence and to become its favorite portrait painter.²

The opening of the canal westward to Rochester in 1823 brought the town its first art exhibit late that December. William Dunlap, one of the leading painters in New York, who had studied for a time under Benjamin West in London, sent a large painting, "Christ Rejected," out on tour. Its display at the Court House in Rochester attracted numerous viewers at 25 cents each and encouraged Dunlap to send his "Crucifixion" and other paintings on similar journeys, at least five of which stopped at Rochester within the next decade. Other noted artists followed Dunlap's example, and in 1843 Rochester enjoyed the first of several opportunities to see paintings by Benjamin West the recently deceased dean of American artists.³ Most of these traveling exhibits featured one or two religious or historical paintings, but West's "Death on a Pale Horse" had a haunting quality that must have deeply stirred imaginative viewers.

These early artists faced new competition in the 1840's—the portrait painters from the daguerreotypists, and the exhibiting artists from the dioramas and later from stereopticon shows. Rochesterians had watched with curiosity as Captain Basil Hall and a few other British travelers made quick sketches of local buildings with the aid of the camera lucida as early as 1827, and they may have read the description, published in the *Gem* in 1840, of a new French invention that would make better likenesses than the most skillful portraitist could paint, but they did not overwhelm Eugene Sintzenich with orders when he opened the first daguerreotype studio in the Arcade a year later.⁴ Sintzenich sold out after a time to Thomas Mercer who made a more successful bid for patronage and soon attracted several competitors. Yet, if the portrait painters no longer monopolized the field, they found a new outlet for their products through the galleries of the daguerreotypists where both kinds of portraits hung in profusion. Modest cottages as well as sumptuous mansions required family daguerreotypes for the parlor tables, and an increasing number of residents felt the need for a head-size portrait over the mantel. More than forty Rochester families hung portraits by Grove S. Gilbert, while Colby Kimball, Alva Bradish, Thomas Le Clear and others were likewise in demand.⁵

The historic and scenic dioramas which began to tour the country in the 1840's stemmed from a novelty introduced by the museums. The popularity they enjoyed prompted Sintzenich to try his hand at it. While the "Capture of Monterey," which he completed in 1850, proved neither as dramatic as "The Burning of Moscow," brought to Rochester on three occasions, nor as monumental as John Banvard's "Panoramic View of the Mississippi River," 425 yards in length, which had slowly rolled before fascinated audiences at Corinthian Hall the previous December, citizens eager to see the local artist's accomplishment crowded into the Arcade hall to watch a first showing.

The Arcade's hospitality boded well for art. This busy concourse, visited by most citizens once a day in quest of their mail, not only housed the Athenaeum library for many years but generally sheltered under its skylight two or more artists' studios. A mural of Niagara Falls by Sintzenich caught the eye as one ascended the staircase, and a first effort to form an Association of Artists occurred there in 1843.⁷ Little is known of that association or of its plans for a gallery, but Colby Kimball, who worked closely with the Pioneer Association of Rochester, soon had a collection of their portraits ready for display in

John Kelsey's daguerrean studio, called an Emporium of Art, in the Gaffney Block.⁸

Local interest in art quickened after the mid-century. Kimball completed his most ambitious painting, "Solomon's Judgment," in 1851, and Sintzenich a new panorama, "The Holy Land." The New York State Daguerrean Association held its semi-annual meeting at Rochester that May, and plans for a gallery of fine art blossomed the next year, though again the movement failed. New panoramas appeared at the Concert Hall and elsewhere, and new exhibits by visiting artists, while Henry J. Brent of New York, soon to marry a local girl and become illustrator of the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, delivered a lecture on the fine arts at Corinthian Hall.⁹

An ingenious plan to broaden the market for American art reached Rochester in 1848 when the *Democrat* launched a drive to enroll members for the American Art Union organized in New York. Engravings of chosen paintings enticed subscribers to pay \$5 for a chance on their favorites. Edwin Scrantom brought the collection to Rochester for display in his auction room in 1853. When that effort failed, a second one, known as the Cosmopolitan Art Association, sprang up in Cleveland, offering each \$3 member one print as well as a lottery ticket on the originals in its collection.¹⁰ D. M. Dewey, a local book dealer, arranged a showing of the engravings at the Arcade in December 1856. The reports fail to tell whether local residents acquired any of these paintings, but two years later, when Scrantom held a similar exhibit, W. W. Selye, one of the lucky subscribers, received a large landscape in oil which he proudly displayed for a week at the Arcade.¹¹

The Dusseldorf Period

Several factors contributed to the new era of art appreciation which opened at Rochester and other inland cities in the fifties and sixties. The decision of the Cosmopolitan Art Association to buy the Dusseldorf gallery in New York and distribute its paintings throughout the country proved evocative. Selye's painting may have been the first example of European art to reach Rochester, but the same year brought young Henry Van Ingen from The Hague to open a studio in the Arcade. These years likewise saw well-to-do Rochesterians returning from European trips with an occasional work of art among their trophies. Yet the editor of the *Democrat*, after viewing the Scrantom display, ventured the "suspicion" that few, even of the "upper ten" of

Rochester families, possessed first rate paintings and urged a new effort to found a suitable gallery.¹²

The *Democrat's* proposal bore fruit as an Academy of Music and Art organized in 1859 and acquired the top floor of the new Rochester Savings Bank building for an art gallery and music hall. The outbreak of war diverted attention from this project until the chance arrival of an art dealer from Chicago in 1862 offered an easy solution. Josiah Humphrey brought "70 fine paintings" with him and welcomed the opportunity to hang them in the academy rooms over the bank. Both American and foreign painters were represented as well as one sculptor, but citizens ready and willing to pay 25 cents to see the collection quickly gratified their curiosity, and a rearrangement of the paintings a month later failed to revive interest. Humphrey soon removed to Buffalo where his venture again failed but left the collection to form a nucleus for a permanent gallery.¹³ Meanwhile the walls of Rochester were not entirely bare, since the Ladies Hospital Relief Association could assemble 150 paintings from various homes in December 1863 for an art exhibit at the Christmas Bazaar to help raise funds for war relief. The success of that exhibit prompted six local artists to join hands a year later and arrange an exhibition of 45 of their paintings in the Arcade.¹⁴

Other art events of the war years included the completion of a bust of President Anderson of the university by Johnson M. Mundy, the city's first resident sculptor. President Anderson gave the first of a long series of art lectures on his return from a European trip in 1863.¹⁵ That year likewise brought Rochester its first stereopticon show which soon drove out the panoramas and gave additional advantage to the photographers.¹⁶ Yet the broader market these new mechanical arts uncovered helped to sustain the painters too, as the art departments in the bookstores and photographic supply stores demonstrated. Perhaps the most significant effect of the war on art in Rochester resulted from Myron Peck's decision to close his boys school and take the younger sons of some of his wealthy backers on a study trip to Europe. Peck's travels back and forth continued after the war, and the familiarity he gained with the art galleries and creative centers abroad proved stimulating not only to his young charges but to their parents as well.¹⁷

If President Anderson's lectures on art, given annually for many years after the war, displayed the influence of his trips abroad, so did the packing cases and trunks brought back by his more wealthy fellow

tourists. George Ellwanger's frequent trips on nursery business had already acquainted him with many of Europe's treasures. Ellwanger was perhaps the first to return with choice paintings, but Hiram Sibley and Daniel W. Powers soon overshadowed all others. These broader contacts with art raised the prestige of local artists too. Henry Van Ingen returned after a study trip abroad and received generous praise for his work. J. M. Mundy unveiled new busts of Chester Dewey, Abelard Reynolds, Frederick Douglass and other Rochester notables.¹⁸

Inevitably a renewed campaign for an art gallery developed. In December 1866, the ladies in charge of the City Hospital collected the best paintings in private homes for a benefit exhibit at the Court House. When the show opened, most of its forty paintings proved to be of foreign origin,—a few originals but many of them copies, the only way, incidentally, in which most Americans could hope to see the masters.¹⁹

Encouraged by the response to this exhibit, art lovers issued periodic appeals for a local gallery. In 1871, a correspondent of the *Democrat* called attention to the success achieved by Buffalo's art gallery, established twelve years before; a fund of \$50,000 would, he suggested, be ample to start a similar institution here. Another correspondent, however, warned that Rochester would not be satisfied with the room full of pictures that might be assembled with such a bequest; instead, the city needed a permanent gallery equipped to serve an educational purpose. With this object in mind, a group of interested citizens met at the office of the Superintendent of Schools in October 1874 to hear a resident's description of the Chicago Art Gallery and to make plans for Rochester.

This time the movement prospered. The Academy of Art, organized that November, chose Mortimer F. Reynolds president and leased an old theater on State Street for its first exhibit the next June. Hiram Sibley's collection of 54 paintings, brought from Europe that spring, formed the nucleus of the exhibit which comprised 110 pictures, some by local artists. The most popular painting was "Mount Shasta" by H. C. Elkins of Chicago; many others merited special attention, declared the *Democrat*, which generously praised the exhibit. The *Union* described several of the Sibley paintings in detail, judging "The Queen of Sheba Welcoming Her Warriors," by the sixteenth century Venetian, Bonifazio, "a masterpiece of composition and color," while three views of the city of Nancy by Jacques Callot seemed "almost priceless." It was certainly the finest art display Rochester had yet seen, and many

citizens hastened to pay the 25-cent admission fee. After six weeks the price dropped to ten cents for another two weeks.²⁰

A second exhibit occurred that fall, but already the opening of a new gallery in the Powers Block overshadowed the academy's program. Daniel W. Powers, determined to make his building the center of attraction in the city, planned a gallery for the top floor and took advantage of a trip to Italy to assemble a collection of reproductions of old masters and a few original paintings, possibly selected with the aid of his friend Myron G. Peck, to adorn it.²¹

The Powers Gallery opened on October 23, 1875, in three spacious parlors on the fifth floor of the Powers Block in the very heart of the city. The first catalogue, published that year, listed 121 oil paintings and 16 water colors. Many of the former, copies of famous old masters, Titian, Raphael, and Van Dyck among others, afforded local residents at least a secondhand view of some of Europe's treasures. Most of the originals at this time, by relatively obscure Italian painters, seemed less significant than some of the painters represented in the Sibley exhibit a few months before, yet the gallery, the unexpected volume of the collection, and its sumptuous surroundings proved overwhelming. The Academy of Art quickly terminated its second exhibit and soon disbanded. A number of local artists moved their studios to the Powers Block, and in 1877 Daniel Powers purchased most of the Sibley collection for his expanding gallery to which three additional parlors had been added. By this date, a stereopticon machine afforded a peek at many European scenes, while an "orchestron"—an "automaton of music" with 40 musical disks—provided pleasant accompaniment. Two huge receptions, each attracting more than a thousand guests, inaugurated the new features.²²

As the years passed the self-made banker became increasingly absorbed in his expensive hobby. He chose several pieces of sculpture at the Philadelphia Exposition, ordered prize winning paintings from the annual Paris Salons, and in 1880 acquired his first American paintings during the exhibit of the National Academy of Design in New York. Powers bought a large and beautifully carved hall clock and several paintings at the A. T. Stewart auction in 1877 and placed an order for a bust of himself with the sculptor, Coure N. C. Papotti. The showrooms were frequently redecorated, always as sumptuous parlors, for Powers believed that art should be viewed in a rich setting. The addition of a second mansard roof in the early eighties provided two additional floors

and greatly extended the gallery. By 1889, the annual catalogue listed 490 original oil paintings, mostly by recent artists, 125 copies of old masters, 65 water colors and 17 pieces of statuary—a widely representative selection which attracted favorable comment from visiting critics. An art library, stocked with the costly folios and catalogues of European galleries and hundreds of beautifully bound tomes, found a place in the banker's private study adjoining the gallery.

Few American cities could match the Powers Gallery during the eighties,²³ and local artists were immensely stimulated by it. Indeed, the stimulation was mutual, for the development of the Powers collection reflected local art interests. Thus the arrival of an aged German painter and art teacher, O. R. Jacobi, in the late seventies, not only provided the gallery with its first Rochester painting, but introduced Powers to Jacobi's former pupil, Ludwig Knaus, leader of the Dusseldorf school of genre painting.

Meanwhile the Rochester Art Club, founded in 1877 after the demise of the Academy of Art, was struggling uncertainly for a footing. The prestige of foreign art on display in the Powers Gallery diverted interest for a time from the work of local artists. The club finally arranged an exhibit in the winter of 1879-1880, presenting canvases by fourteen members, including two ladies, but disharmony developed over the desire of some members to use the club for the employ of models to pose in the nude. When the club reassembled the next August a model was engaged though her identity had to be concealed.

Some of the Art Club's difficulties sprang from rivalries among the artists themselves. Mundy, the local sculptor who unveiled a bust of Frederick Douglass at Sibley Hall in June 1879, opened an art school in the Elwood Block equipped with casts of the Fighting Gladiator, the Venus de Milo, and other famous models. The Ladies' Art Exchange, a local branch of a national philanthropic movement, formed in 1880 to improve the standards of home decoration, had its own program of instruction, offering the services of four teachers at its room in the Powers Block. The Art Exchange taught figure and charcoal drawing, embroidery and flower painting—the last an especially useful service in view of the constant demand among local nurserymen for colored illustrations. Its annual exhibits sold the approved work of its own members and the selected products of other craftsmen at a small commission.

J. Guernsey Mitchell, Rochester's first artist to study abroad, returned from Paris in 1880 and commenced work on a clay model for a bronze

statue of Mercury to be mounted atop the new Kimball tobacco factory. Mitchell opened a studio in the newly glass-covered loft of the elegant Rochester Savings Bank building, and the Art Club acquired the use of three commodious rooms under the same skylight. The unveiling of the giant statue of Mercury, twenty-one feet tall, bearing a bag of gold in one hand and a messenger's rod in the other, and equipped with wings on his sandals, provided a gala occasion in January 1881, and supplied Rochester with a choice skyline symbol.

Increased popular interest in art dispelled jealousy between the several factions and encouraged collaboration. When Dr. Francis Hayden, the famous etcher of London scenes, came to Rochester to lecture before the Art Club in 1883, a grand reception filled the Powers Gallery. The exhibit of the Ladies' Art Exchange in the Powers ballroom that year gave place, a few weeks later, to an Art Club show in the same hall. The two societies soon joined in conducting a series of popular classes. Frequent art lectures before the Y. M. C. A. and other groups by President Anderson, by Mundy the sculptor, and D. M. Dewey the art dealer, further demonstrated the popular scope of the movement. An intermittent flow of visitors paid nominal admission fees to see the permanent displays in the Powers Gallery, or gazed with wonder and without charge at the two hundred paintings which overflowed into the outer corridors during the eighties.

Some of the divisions troubling the art centers of Europe began to reach Rochester in the late eighties. Guernsey Mitchell was by no means the only member of the local group to study abroad. Indeed in 1883, at the opening of the Art Club's third exhibit, a reporter, who discovered only five of its regular members present, learned that nine were pursuing their studies either in Europe or New York. The Reverend James Dennis, president at this time, had been a student of Van Ingen, formerly resident in Rochester. Harvey Ellis, Horatio Walker and Charles Gruppe, all largely self taught, had seized the first opportunity to visit Europe. Libbie Dutcher, Ada Kent, and Emma Lampert, each studied at the Student's Art League in New York, and in 1886 Miss Lampert left Rochester for a fifteen-month course in Paris where Guernsey Mitchell and Frank Dumond likewise pursued their studies. All three entered exhibits at the Paris Salon, and the last two won prizes in 1890.²⁴

The Paris Salon shared respectability at this time with the Dutch whose influence reached Rochester through Van Ingen, Dennis, and

Gruppe. Both reflected the impact of the Barbizon school, and the Powers Gallery displayed worthy representatives of it in a Daubigny, a Rousseau, and two Corots, as well as a painting by the younger Millet. The gallery brought some excellent romanticists to Rochester, notably "The Standard Bearer" by Delacroix, but neglected for some reason to include any contemporary work by the still dominant classical school. The newer realists were represented creditably enough by Courbet's "Stone Breakers." Miss Dutcher, a local art teacher trained in New York and the only woman whose students used live models, was possibly the outstanding exponent of realism in Rochester; her own paintings stirred comment because of their bold coloring and forceful strokes. The *Democrat's* art critic took up the point, urging students not to labor over the perfection of details but "to strive for effects, as in the modern French school." The best pictures in the Powers Gallery, he added, do not show specific detail. Seven years later the same paper noted but did not comment upon an informal discussion of Impressionism by the Art Club.

Interest in art flourished at the gallery and elsewhere. The *Democrat* ran a series of articles in 1884 on the merits and character of its outstanding paintings, while the Academy of Science organized an art section the next year. The death of Grove S. Gilbert that March brought an outburst of tributes to the city's favorite portrait painter and an exhibit of many of his canvases at the next Art Club show.²⁵

Additional collectors had meanwhile appeared in Rochester. William S. Kimball, the tobacco manufacturer, commissioned his brother-in-law, Guernsey Mitchell, to select a number of oils and water colors for display in a gallery erected back of his new mansion on Spring Street. Perhaps the most noteworthy artist represented in this collection was Turner, the English landscape painter. While a few of the Kimball and the Powers paintings were valued at several thousand dollars each, it remained for H. H. Warner to bring Rochester its most costly prizes during this period. When in 1884 a large painting of Niagara Falls in winter by an English artist attracted favor, Rochester's patent medicine king purchased it, and three years later, when the American, Henry Mosler, began to win fame in Europe, Warner gave him an order for three new paintings paying \$75,000 for the lot. Warner felt rewarded when one of the three paintings, "The White Captive," won a gold medal at the Paris Salon in 1889. A more modest and discriminating collector, Charles A. Green, nurseryman, began buying paintings

at an early age and displayed especial interest in American and local artists.

Yet Rochester's patronage of local artists did not maintain them. Most of those who remained in the city were compelled to make painting a sideline to architecture, photography, teaching, or some other calling. The twenty-one landscape and portrait painters listed in the 1880 Directory, increased to fifty-eight a decade later, but few of them became self-sustaining artists. Several, nevertheless, maintained studios, and a few of these, notably Mitchell, Dumond, and Miss Lampert, participated in the affairs of the American Water Color Society and other regional or national art associations, entering the art shows of widely scattered cities. Rochester's most notable artist, Horatio Walker had come to the city from Canada as a lad and opened a photography shop in 1876, joining the next year, at the age of 19, with others to found the Art Club. Walker soon gave up photography in order to devote his time exclusively to painting. He became especially fond of fog scenes and shortly discovered a kinship for Canadian peasants, depicting them in rustic landscapes, often engaged at chores amidst their domestic animals. Largely self-taught, his descent on New York with a canvas of pigs in 1885 created a sensation. As Walker's career developed there, his Rochester friends shared the wider associations, and with other laurels came two orders from the Powers Gallery in 1890.²⁶

The Art Club Era

Just as Rochester's art patrons turned to Europe for their choice treasures, so the city's younger artists journeyed abroad for further study and stimulation. The club's annual exhibits began to attract greater interest in the early nineties, and when the Powers Gallery closed, following Daniel's death, the club spearheaded a drive for a new one. The example of other American cities challenged local civic pride, and finally a generous gift to the university by Mrs. James Sibley Watson established the Memorial Art Gallery. The fact that some members of the Art Club had become interested, during their trips abroad, in the new art movements there, brought an awareness of these trends to Rochester even before its gallery opened in 1913 and assured a wide representation on its wall not only of the several European schools but of American art as well.

The return of Frank Dumond in 1892 with several canvases painted in Europe, including one awarded a medal at the Paris Salon, and the

arrival of Guernsey Mitchell's model of a proposed statue of Martin B. Anderson,³⁴ stirred special interest. Both the Art Club and the newly formed Society of Art Students conducted life classes and field trips and held fortnightly meetings at which members displayed their recent work and shared criticisms.³⁵ But no art event of the early nineties aroused greater excitement than the Knoedler exhibit in November 1892. The numerous canvases, which arrived in a special boxcar under armed guard, were described when hung in the Powers Hotel as "surpassing anything seen in Rochester before." The sixty pictures included several by Vibert, Gerome, Corot, Diaz and others characterized (rather inaccurately) as "French moderns" or "French-Americans." A rumor soon spread that Powers had acquired one for \$20,000 and that Kimball, Mrs. Don Alonzo Watson and one or two others had made purchases. Perhaps this publicity smacked a bit of commercialism. Nevertheless the final report, that the sales aggregated \$17,000 for a dozen paintings, seemed impressive enough and revealed Rochester to be a good market for art.³⁶

When two local artists received invitations to display at the World's Fair, "The Breadwinner," destined to win a prize for Miss Emma E. Lampert, and "Monastic Life" by Frank Dumond were among the works selected. The merits of the Powers collection prompted Fair officials to choose two oils for exhibit in Chicago, although Powers declined to permit their removal from his gallery.³⁷ Charles P. Gruppe returned from a year in Europe too late to enter the Fair's contest, but the vigor with which he managed the Art Club exhibit in 1893, selecting over 250 paintings for display in the Chamber of Commerce rooms, made it one of the most memorable in the club's early history. Rochester artists contributed half of these paintings and more than a score of them found purchasers, though the total returns scarcely exceeded \$1,000.³⁸ The influence of the impressionistic school struck one reviewer who commented on the pervasiveness of blue in some of the paintings. Newly installed electric lights permitted the club to open its exhibits during evening hours, but the door receipts at 25 cents totalled only \$200 in ten days, possibly because of the hard times.³⁹

Residents able and willing to buy works of art became less numerous in 1893, as the Italian sculptor, Caure N. C. Papotti of the Academy of St. Lucia in Rome, discovered when he stopped off in the city on his return from the Chicago Fair where he had served as a fine arts judge. Papotti had previously executed several cemetery monuments for Roch-

esterians—the Ericksons, the Ellwangers and the Barrys among others—and had sold several pieces to Powers. He had to be content, this time, to enjoy a friendly visit with his former patrons and members of the city's expanding art circles which included at least three sculptors.⁴⁰

The major setback in the local art world occurred in 1897 with the closing of the Powers Art Gallery. Daniel W. Powers had almost completed his remarkable private collection and gallery before the onset of the depression. One additional room, opened in December 1894, added a few contemporary paintings, but the hard times made him more interested in economy than expansion.⁴¹ Unfortunately, his request for tax relief, on the grounds that the \$40,000 maintenance cost of the gallery represented a contribution to the public weal, met a stony response from officials, equally pressed for economy. This "blindness," as it was later characterized (though few supported Powers at the time), embittered the Powers family, and the gallery was closed following Daniel's death in December 1897.⁴²

The Art Club promptly launched a move to save the gallery. As an organization the club had received few direct benefits, yet its members, if seldom recognized by a Powers' purchase, had enjoyed the easy opportunity to study his treasures and faced the prospect of their loss to the city with alarm. The club's resolution, declaring in part that "The removal of these famous pictures will be a calamity to Rochester," received hearty indorsement in the press; both the Common Council and the Chamber of Commerce named committees to study the problem, but nothing was accomplished.⁴³

Rochesterians watched with keen if somewhat jealous interest when the sale opened a year later at the Chickering Hall in New York. Only 275 of the nearly 1,000 items were sold at the time, netting a total of \$148,805—much less humiliating than many had feared. Apparently some metropolitan critics were surprised at the merits of this provincial collection, and while the spirit of the Dusseldorf school and the other "old ideas" which it embodied prompted the *Tribune* to dub it a "mountain of mediocrity," even this writer found so much of artistic value that he could not in the end scoff.⁴⁴

Another New York critic, who described the collection as "eclectic," with examples of "all Continental schools and . . . a few American painters," saw a note of pathos in the event. That certainly was the dominant feeling among Rochester art lovers, for the sale of the Powers collection marked the passing of an epoch in which "both painters and

patrons took art seriously." Perhaps they had not fully appreciated the "curious self portrait by Jules Breton," the "charming Cazin," the "vigorous Courbet," the "modest little Daubigny," the "superb Fromentin," the "noteworthy Gerome," the "Knaus full of humanity," the "Diaz which may be classed among his very best," as the *World* critic described a few. Possibly they should have savored these works more attentively, rather than delighting in the sumptuous atmosphere the Powers galleries had supplied for Rochester's fashionable social events.⁴⁵ In any case, both opportunities had now passed, and art entered a more frugal if not quite a Bohemian age.

The contrast was sharply drawn when two years later a Rochester girl returned after eighteen months in the Latin Quarter of Paris. Yet her account of life in a bare unheated room, which she rented for one franc a day and skimped along on another franc daily for food in order to pay for lessons and art materials, by no means typified the foreign study and practice trips most generally reported in the Rochester papers.⁴⁶ Scarcely a member of the Rochester Art Club failed to make at least one such trip, and several spent months and even years abroad. Charles P. Gruppe, Guernsey Mitchell and the Dumonds seldom returned to Rochester for long, though they frequently sent examples of their latest work for the club's annual exhibitions. Horatio Walker had moved permanently to New York, and Miss Lampert, after repeated trips abroad and to eastern art centers, married Colin C. Cooper, a Philadelphia artist, and settled in that city.⁴⁷

Yet many who enjoyed foreign trips returned to open studios in Rochester. Perhaps the Bohemian features some of them retained, such as the flowing locks of Edward S. Siebert, helped to attract the reporter's attention, nevertheless their interest in the new trends abroad proved healthy. The contributions of foreign-born artists further broadened the city's horizons. Frank von der Lancken from Holland, Aime L. Meyvis, Belgian-born, Arthur W. Moore and G. Hamner-Croughton, both from England, all joined the Art Club. George Haushalter, brought back from Paris by J. Sherlock Andrews to join his fecund coteri, was New England-born.⁴⁸

Art trends in America proved influential too. Preparations for the club shows, which occurred almost annually, included a trip by Miss Ada Kent or some other member to New York for a tour of the artists' studios in search of loan exhibitions. Sometimes the arrangements were entrusted to agents in New York, or Philadelphia, and in 1902 Toronto,

thus assuring a wide representation of American and Canadian painters and developing reciprocal associations for Rochester artists. The club hung a group of paintings from Munich in 1892, and another from Rome in 1895, but apparently the first to include any Impressionists arrived by way of Buffalo from the Glasgow school in 1906. As several club members were experimenting with that genre, the next exhibit featured a dozen paintings of the leading Impressionists of France.⁵⁰

Rochester was not entirely unprepared for the sensation which the 1908 exhibit produced. Local art critics no longer felt content to make obvious comments on the facial expression of the figures represented or the life-like quality of the scenes depicted—as they had done a decade before.⁵¹ The naturalism and sentimentality of the nineties lost their charm as painters and critics alike learned to see the new light effects and new symbolism of the modern artists. Students and patrons traveling abroad had not escaped the influence of the new stirrings there, repercussions of which already appeared in New York and in nearby Buffalo. Indeed the progressive leadership of the Albright Gallery, opened at Buffalo in 1905, exerted an enlivening influence in Rochester art circles too.⁵²

Yet responsibility for the 1908 exhibit rested on George L. Herdle, president of the club since 1902. An extended study trip in Europe two years before had opened his eyes to many new trends. He had secured the cooperation of Dr. Charles M. Kurtz, director of the Albright Gallery, in the 1906 exhibit, and he must have seen the exhibit of Impressionists at that gallery in 1907. In any event he made a personal trip to New York to select paintings for a similar show in Rochester. He was eager, a reporter learned on his return, to display the "vibratory quality" the Impressionists had achieved and to show how their "light shimmers" and their shadows possess "a luminosity which older masters had not awakened to." "All the Art Club asks," he announced as the exhibit opened, "is that the public look long, and more than once, before coming to a conclusion."⁵³

Hundreds attended the exhibit's opening in the Rochester Savings Bank building, a better crowd than generally greeted art shows, but apparently many left with words of derision. Charles A. Green, provoked by the comments over Claude Monet's three paintings, priced at from \$6,000 to \$10,000 each, wrote a letter in the artist's defense.⁵⁴ The editor of the *Post Express* became equally indignant when he learned that at least 100 citizens had turned away on discovering that

it would cost a quarter to see the show. "Rochesterians will flock to hear Caruso sing, why not," he demanded, "to see the paintings of Monet, Sisley, Renoir, Maufra, Pissarro and Cassatt?" With mounting choler he declared, "It ought to be a reproach to any man or woman who has any claim to culture not to have paid one or two visits to this exhibition. . . . Perhaps a census will be taken of those who attend the second week" he threatened.⁵⁵

It was too much to expect Rochester to capitulate to the new movement at its first full showing. Even New York, after two decades with the Impressionists, had witnessed its first Expressionism in a Picasso show, brought over by Alfred Steiglitz that April, with little comprehension.⁵⁶ The Flower City's reaction to these new developments reflected other art movements, some more appealing to the public. The Art Club and the Society of Art Students, composed chiefly of amateurs, continued their fortnightly meetings,⁵⁷ while the Art Exchange maintained a commercial outlet for domestic ornaments.⁵⁸ An Arts and Crafts Society, formed in 1897 to encourage the expression of artistic taste in industry, annually displayed articles, selected by Harvey Ellis and Claude F. Bragdon for simplicity of design and other functional qualities; its exhibit at Mechanics Institute attracted considerable interest in 1905.⁵⁹ The Woman's Educational and Industrial Union held occasional shows including one of Japanese art and several of art work in the schools.⁶⁰ A special exhibit at Fitzhugh Hall of the Tissot paintings on the life of Jesus attracted over 2,000 paid admissions in 1900.⁶¹

Lectures on art likewise gained favor. An American art class, organized by Mrs. Mary T. Sanford in 1900 and continued for at least a decade, featured short talks by local or visiting artists and encouraged a free discussion of their topics over the tea cups.⁶² The art lectures at the university lapsed for a time after President Anderson's retirement, but the program was resumed and expanded in 1902 with the appointment of Dr. Elizabeth Denio, formerly professor of art at Wellesley, as the first woman lecturer at the university. Dr. Denio ranged from the art of Medieval Italy to that of contemporary America and, with the aid of lantern slides, helped to enrich the lives of many students and adults during the next 15 years.⁶³

Private lessons, offered from time to time by the leading artists, with the criticism sessions of the Art Club and the practice meetings of the Society of Art Students, supplied instruction in art, but Eugene Colby gave formal classes in freehand drawing at Mechanics Institute.

A department of fine arts flourished under his direction there, and in 1910 the Bevier Memorial building provided more adequate facilities for art instruction by Frank von der Lancken and others, though the institute's general orientation toward practical training caused it to devote chief attention to the courses in illustration and advertising art.⁶⁴

The enthusiasm of several art dealers and collectors proved infectious. The Brodhead gallery on East Avenue, the Rundel gallery on Main Street, enjoyed a thriving trade. The sale of the Powers collection left a residue in Rochester, with some of the larger paintings and other items hanging in the corridors and tower of the Powers Block for decades. The private gallery of William S. Kimball was maintained by his widow who added new acquisitions from time to time with the aid of her brother, Guernsey Mitchell, and occasionally entertained the Art Club there during his periodic visits. Charles A. Green gradually increased his collection and added a gallery to his home on Highland Avenue in 1910.⁶⁵ Mrs. James S. Watson, the Ellwangers, and many others bought valuable paintings and several of them developed collections of merit.

The most valuable private collection was that which George Eastman assembled for his new mansion on East Avenue in 1905. His early interest in pictures had been sharpened and directed toward the great masterpieces during the course of several bicycle trips on the Continent in the nineties. His companion on such trips had usually been Thatcher Clarke, a member of his English staff who was also a connoisseur of art and music. Fortunately, now that he had a place to hang them, Eastman had the taste as well as the means to buy such paintings as Rembrandt's "Portrait of a Young Man," Van Dyke's "Portrait of a Nobleman," and Franz Hals' "Portrait of a Man" among others. These distinguished paintings helped to make his spacious mansion an appropriate cultural setting for the Sunday musicales.⁶⁶

Of course the major goal of the period was a real art gallery. The Art Club launched the movement in 1899 by promising the proceeds of its annual exhibit to the cause. A. S. Moore as secretary collected offers of art works from all resident and foreign members of the club, which stimulated other gifts as the years passed. An effort to secure old No. 11 school for a gallery failed in 1902, but rooms were leased the next year in the Cutler building as a temporary Museum of Art—a move hastened by the opening of a Museum of Fine Arts in nearby Syracuse and the construction of the Albright Gallery in Buffalo.⁶⁸

Unfortunately, Rochester's makeshift museum had to close its doors fifteen months later when the Art Club failed to raise sufficient funds to retain a suitable curator.⁶⁹ Yet the need persisted, and in 1910 the movement revived with the organization of a Rochester Art League, bringing together all the city's art groups for a united campaign.⁷⁰

The advocates of an art gallery welcomed aid from either public or private sources. Their chief spokesman, the *Post Express*, noted with chagrin in 1908 that the city fathers in Syracuse appropriated \$10,000 a year to maintain a gallery on the top floor of the Public Library, while Buffalo had a privately built and endowed gallery worth nearly a million dollars.⁷¹ Both were open free of charge and well patronized, which suggested that the Rochester art exhibits might draw better crowds if admission fees could be eliminated. An experiment in this direction occurred in 1910 when the Art Club held its exhibit in collaboration with the social center movement. The club selected and hung the pictures, which again included several by the French Impressionists, and the Board of Education footed the bill. The experiment proved highly successful, and Rochester's first truly public art exhibition, held in East High School in February 1910, attracted unprecedented crowds totalling over 10,000 in two weeks.⁷²

Encouraged by this response, the Art Club made arrangements the next year for an exhibit in connection with the Industrial Exposition which agreed to pay the bills. Again the crowds so jammed the corridors assigned to art that the authorities agreed the next summer to erect a temporary fine arts building on the Exposition grounds. The Art Club's 28th exhibit, held there in September 1912, proved in many respects the most successful of its history. Each of 53 artists of the Rochester area, or formerly resident there, hung one or two pictures, and a fair number, in Charles A. Green's opinion, displayed originality or freshness and merited high praise.⁷³

The Memorial Art Gallery

Several factors quickened the community's interest in art that year. It was the centennial of Rochester's first permanent settlement, and all evidence of the city's progress elicited enthusiasm. The annual "Picturesque Rochester" competition, which Elmer Adler had launched two years before, proved noteworthy this year.⁷⁴ Most exciting of all was the announcement made by President Rhees in April of Mrs. James

Sibley Watson's gift of a memorial gallery to the university in memory of her son, James G. Averell.⁷⁵

The Memorial Art Gallery, built in Italian Renaissance style on the university campus, opened with impressive ceremonies on October 8, 1913. Robert DeForest, president of the American Federation of Artists, gave the principal address, congratulating Rochester on the realization of its aspirations. George L. Herdle, president of the club for many years and one of the gallery's most tireless promoters, became director and announced plans for a full program of exhibits and other activities.⁷⁶ The Art Club's annual exhibits received a welcome there in subsequent years, as well as the annual showings of the Picturesque Rochester competition,⁷⁷ and a loan exhibit from Rochester homes stirred interest in 1914. Indeed, the number of paintings offered proved too great for one exhibit; fortunately their quality fully justified a second show the following year. The 200 paintings finally hung included several from the Eastman, Watson and Kimball collections and one or two each from 25 other Rochester homes.⁷⁸

Yet in the midst of the general feeling of satisfaction over the community's achievements in the field of art, new problems and disputes arose. The battle over Impressionism had been indecisive, and its opponents regained the advantage by linking that school with its radically different successors, the Post-Impressionists who burst upon America in 1913. G. Hamner-Crougton and H. Irving Marlatt had sounded a warning in 1909 after brief trips to Europe on which they had been horrified by the new trends discovered there.⁷⁹ The issue was more sharply drawn by the opening of the famous Armory exhibit in New York in March 1913. The *Rochester Herald* announced the show with caution, preferring not to take sides. The *Post Express* printed a long article on the "Exhilaration of Modernism" by Anna Page Scott of Rochester whose account of the character and objectives of the new movement was both perceptive and dispassionate. But the editor of that paper, after a personal visit, concluded that, while the "Cubists," "Futurists" and "Post-Impressionists" showed originality, "it was of the kind to be found in an insane asylum."⁸⁰ The Rochester Art Club, unable to dismiss the matter so easily, arranged a program at George L. Herdle's suggestion, to read and discuss several writers who defended the new trends. Some members at least professed interest in the new distinction between "kinetic" and "static" art and in the effort to create an "illusion of the fact" rather than to represent the fact itself.

The outbreak of the great war in Europe diverted attention from art for a time but soon provided an indirect benefit. Resurgent nationalism added interest to several exhibits of contemporary American artists at the gallery, among them Robert Henri, George Bellows, Walter Griffin, Helen M. Turner, Winslow Homer and John Singer Sargent. At the same time the war, by delaying the return of French and Belgian and other European paintings sent originally to the Panama-Pacific Exposition, enabled the Rochester gallery, like those in other alert cities, to arrange exhibits of paintings by Paul Cezanne, Edgar Degas, Paul Gauguin, Edouard Manet, Claude Monet, Camille Pissarro, Auguste Renoir, Alfred Sisley, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Matisse and others. Yet the attendance at these exhibits often proved disappointing, and a college girl, who served as receptionist at the desk during long afternoons following the repeated openings, complained that many students dropped in merely to use the idle telephone.⁸²

George L. Herdle was fully aware of the problem—one shared by art galleries even in New York city. The exhibits had to be fresh and alive, he frequently declared, and with that objective in mind he made repeated trips to New York, Philadelphia, Washington, and Pittsburgh, attending most of the major exhibits and selecting artists and canvases for display in Rochester. Most of the engagements were made directly with the chosen artists, who frequently came to Rochester to take part in the opening of their exhibits, sometimes even serving as interpreters of their own work, as when Douglas Volk and three other Americans attended their joint exhibit early in 1922.⁸³ Variety was desirable as well as the personal touch, and shortly after a Christmas exhibit of old masters, including several paintings of the Madonna and Child, the gallery hung over 100 paintings by the Russian refugee, Nicholas Roerich, whose "mystic brilliance" shocked some of the more academic artists.⁸⁴

That fluctuations in attendance reflected degrees of comprehension and involvement soon became evident. Guided tours, arranged by Herdle and his aids in 1919, endeavored to bridge these gaps for high school students, admitted free of charge in class groups, and the next year saw all admission fees abolished. A real effort to touch the life of the people occurred a year later when the gallery collaborated with the Chamber of Commerce in staging a Homelands Exhibit at Exposition Park. Herdle and his associates secured the cooperation of many nationality groups in assembling art objects, costumes and furniture

brought over by the immigrants from the Old Country and prepared a series of displays that attracted thousands of visitors during the two weeks show. Perhaps the best result, Herdle declared, was to revive an appreciation for immigrant folk art which many descendants of the foreign-born, in their eagerness to adopt American ways, had tended to disparage.⁸⁵ The inspiring show should be repeated annually, the *Herald* declared, and while Herdle's illness and other circumstances prevented it the next year, the gallery did make a point of including special Polish, Czech and other national art exhibits in succeeding years.⁸⁶

The Art Club exhibits continued to receive a welcome at the gallery, but the club's decision to establish an independent headquarters, at first in the Alembic Club on South Washington Street and later in Mechanics Institute, emphasized its separation, which became more pronounced after Herdle retired as president in 1920.⁸⁷ Although Miss Gertrude R. Herdle, who succeeded her father as director of the gallery on his death two years later, was promptly named an honorary member of the club, her training and talents lay in art appreciation and display, rather than in its creation, and her field of interest was world wide in scope, as the eagerness with which she took advantage of an opportunity to visit the galleries of Europe in the summer of 1924 disclosed. New plans for exhibits encompassed both Renaissance and contemporary European art and Japanese drawings,⁸⁸ as well as the best available in America. Occasionally a former Rochesterian, such as Isabel Hollister Tuttle, appeared in an exhibit with other Americans, but the display of local art was a minor part of the gallery's function. In its effort to maintain the highest standards, the gallery shunned parochialism and, with the full consent of the club, even opened the annual local shows to all artists in the area. Meanwhile, as several of the older members passed on, some of the younger generation who replaced them, catching the excitement of more than one art, staged a special Mardi Gras art show and ball at the Seneca Hotel in March 1924. Plans for this and succeeding shows independent of the gallery absorbed an increasing portion of the club's energies.

Yet the gallery could not afford to lose its contacts with the creative process. Miss Herdle carried her father's approach to the schools a step further by organizing classes in art expression for children at the gallery. More room was needed, and a generous new gift from Mr. and Mrs. James S. Watson launched plans for the gallery's enlargement. Mean-

while a tentative program of classes commenced in 1924, and over 10,000 attended 215 class meetings and lectures that year, which boosted the attendance to 44,000, the highest point yet reached. While pleased by the response, Miss Herdle's first report expressed the hope that a new generation would grow up better able to comprehend and enjoy art because of a wider participation in its creation.⁹⁰ Moreover the enrollment of students from all groups and the inclusion of art from all nations and ages in its exhibits enabled the gallery to make a significant contribution towards community integration.

1. For full details on these visitors see R.H.S. *Publications* XI: 299-316; XIV: 311-314; XVIII: 8; and R.H.S. *Scrapbook* I: 1-2.
2. Clifford M. Ulp, "Art and Artists in Rochester," R.H.S. *Publications* XIV: 30-32; R.H.S. *Scrapbook* II: 5-9; R. *Telegraph*, Dec. 23 (3-5) 1923; *Monroe Republican*, Aug. 1 (3-1) 1926; Feb. 9 (1-2) 1830.
3. *Telegraph*, Dec. 23 (3-3) 1823; *Gem*, Oct. 16 (95-2) 1830; *Republican*, Jan. 7, 1840, April 18, 1843; *Advertiser*, Nov. 12, 1844; Sept. 23, 1845.
4. *Gem*, Feb. 22 (33-2), Sept. 19 (154-3) 1840; *Advertiser*, July 30 (2-4) 1841.
5. Ulp, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-33; McKelvey, *Rochester the Water Power City*, pp. 310-311.
6. *Democrat*, April 18, 1837; Sept. 6, 1843; May 26, 1845; Jan. 18, 1847; Sept. 21, 1849; *Advertiser*, Dec. 13, 1849; Aug. 5, 1850.
7. *Gem*, June 26, 1841; *Democrat*, Oct. 3, 1843; Feb. 17, 1844.
8. Ulp, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-60; McKelvey, *op. cit.*, pp. 320, 358.
9. *Advertiser*, Aug. 15, Oct. 10, 1851; *Democrat*, May 6, 1852; *Union*, Jan. 10, Feb. 21, 1854.
10. Mary B. Cowdrey, "American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art Union," N. Y. Historical Society, *Publication* (1953) I: 108, 133; *Dem.*, Oct. 20, 1848.
11. *Democrat & American*, Mar. 8, May 22, 1858, Feb. 21, 24, 1860; Walter Sutton, "The Derby Brothers," U. of R. *Library Bulletin* III: 27-29.
12. *D. & A.*, May 22, July 31, 1858; McKelvey, *Rochester, the Flower City*, p. 56.
13. *Express*, Feb. 27, Mar. 31, May 6, June 2, July 22, Sept. 24, Dec. 5, 1862.
14. *D. & A.*, Dec. 16, 21, 23, 1863; *Express* Dec. 28, 1864.
15. *D. & A.*, July 24, 1863; *Express*, Feb. 28, 1865.
16. *U. & A.*, (1863); Dec. 27 (2-1) 1864.
17. *U. & A.*, Dec. 28, 1893; *Herald*, Dec. 28, 1893.
18. McKelvey, *Flower City*, p. 185.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
20. *D. & C.*, June 25, Aug. 3, 24, 1875; *U. & A.*, June 25, July 2, 1875; Jean M. Dinse, "Private Art Collections in Rochester," *Rochester History*, July 1945, pp. 10-11.
21. McKelvey, *Flower City*, pp. 331-332; Virginia Jeffrey Smith, "The Powers Art Gallery," R. H. S. *Scrapbook* II: 10-12.
22. Hopkins, *op. cit.*; Dinse, *loc. cit.*; McKelvey, *Flower City*, pp. 332-337.
23. The Powers Gallery was not mentioned in a survey of art galleries in 1896, but details supplied on the others are useful for comparison: see "Fields of Art in the United States," *Scribner's Magazine* (1896), XX, 649-652; see the comments of visiting art critics noted in Dinse, "Private Art Collections in Rochester."

24. *Democrat & Chronicle*, May 24, 1888; June 5, 6, 1890. See characterization of Ellis in the nineties, Claude Bragdon, *More Lives Than One* (New York, 1938), pp. 40-42.
25. *D. & C.*, Mar. 25, 26, May 16, 24, 28, 1885. "The Paintings of Grove S. Gilbert," R. H. S. *Publications* XVI, 54-60.
26. *D. & C.*, Oct. 17, 1880; May 29, 1885; Jan. 12, 1888; Feb. 8, Nov. 10, 1889; F. Newlin Price, *Horatio Walker* (New York, 1928); Frenar, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Powers Art Gallery*.
34. *D. & C.*, May 30 (10-6) 1891; Oct. 28 (8-4) 1892.
35. *D. & C.*, Sept. 6 (8-4), Oct. 26 (8-5), Dec. 1 (8-7), Dec. 10 (12-5), 1892.
36. *D. & C.*, Nov. 19 (11-3), Nov. 22 (10-7), Nov. 24 (11-3), Dec. 1 (8-7), Dec. 2 (11-2) 1892; *P. E.*, Nov. 23 (6-2), Dec. 2 (3-1) 1892.
37. *Herald*, Jan. 30 (8-6), Feb. 1 (6-1), Feb. 8 (6-4), Feb. 14 (7-3) 1893.
38. *Herald*, Mar. 1 (6-1), Mar. 7 (6-1), Mar. 20 (6-4), April 13 (8-1) 1893; *P. E.*, May 17 (6-2), May 18 (6-4), May 24 (6-1), May 26 (6-2) 1893.
39. *P. E.*, May 27 (7-1) 1893; Rochester Art Club, *Catalogue of the 14th Annual Exhibition* (Rochester, 1893).
40. *U. & A.*, Sept. 11 (5-6) 1893.
41. *D. & C.*, Dec. 23 (7-1) 1893; Dec. 30 (8-5) 1894; Powers Art Gallery, *Valuable Paintings . . . Selected from the Collection to be Sold* (New York, 1899).
42. *U. & A.*, Dec. 11, 1897; *Herald*, Dec. 15 (6-1) 1897; *C. C. Proceedings*, March 30, 1897; July 19, 1898.
43. *P. E.*, Jan. 27 (7-2), Feb. 16 (9-2) 1898; *U. & A.*, Feb. 7 (7-3), Feb. 16 (8-2) 1898; *Herald*, May 16 (9-5) 1898.
44. *Herald*, Jan. 14 (7-6), Jan. 13 (7-1), Jan. 18 (7-1), Jan. 21 (7-1) 1899.
45. *Herald*, Jan. 13 (7-1) 1899; Mrs. Stedman's "Scrapbook," R. P. L.
46. *D. & C.*, Nov. 7 (12-5) 1896; April 7 (18-7) 1901.
47. *U. & A.*, Mar. 16 (19-4), April 6 (20-1) 1895; June 12 (3-6) 1897; *P. E.*, April 2 (13-1), May 9 (14-3) 1896.
48. *U. & A.*, Mar. 16 (Roto, 2-4) 1895; *P. E.*, June 7 (4-1) 1897.
49. *D. & C.*, June 11 (8-5) 1900; May 23 (13-2) 1910; Oct. 5 (14-5) 1911; *P. E.*, Oct. 11 (10-5) 1902.
50. *P. E.*, May 9 (8-5) 1906; *Herald*, April 12 (12-3), May 17 (11-1) 1908; Rochester Art Club, "Minutes, 1900-1917," MSS, R. P. L., Vol. II.
51. *Herald*, Mar. 27 (8-5), May 4 (9-4) 1894; Dec. 7 (8-1) 1897; April 20 (7-5) 1899.
52. *Blue Book of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy: 1931-1942* (Buffalo, 1943), pp. 20-23.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 23; *P. E.*, May 14 (5-1), May 19 (5-1) 1908; R. Art Club, "Minutes," II 153-161.
54. *P. E.*, May 26 (4-7) 1908.
55. *P. E.*, May 23 (4-3) 1908.
56. *New Yorker*, Dec. 29, 1951; Literary Guild, *America and Alfred Steiglitz*, p. 83.
57. *Herald*, May 3 (7-5) 1894; *D. & C.*, May 2 (7-3) 1895; *P. E.*, Feb. 25 (7-4) 1903; *Herald*, June 6 (7-3) 1907.
58. *D. & C.*, Dec. 16 (9-2) 1896; *U. & A.*, Jan. 29 (16-1) 1898; *P. E.*, July 23 (10-1) 1898.
59. *P. E.*, May 25 (11-4) 1897; April 23 (6-4) 1905; *Herald*, Feb. 2 (11-2) 1910; Rochester Athenaeum & Mechanics Association, *Exhibition of Art Handicraft*. (Rochester, 1905.)
60. *U. & A.*, Oct. 29 (11-1) 1898; *Herald*, May 17 (9-4) 1899.
60. *U. & A.*, Oct. 29 (11-1) 1898; *Herald*, May 17 (9-4) 1899.
61. *D. & C.*, Mar. 13 (10-5) 1900.
62. *P. E.*, July 30 (10-5) 1901; *D. & C.*, Jan. 29 (10-4) 1902; *P. E.*, Nov. 9 (9-4) 1906; *Times*, Nov. 11 (5-6) 1911.

63. *Herald*, Mar. 3 (6-3) 1899; *P. E.*, Oct. 14 (10-3), Nov. 8 (2-4); Mar. 2 (10-5) 1903; *Herald*, Dec. 2 (6-2) 1904.
64. Clifford M. Ulp, "Art and Artists in Rochester" *R. H. S. Publication XIV*: 51-52; R. Athenaeum and Mechanics Institute, *Forty-One Years, 1885-1926* (Rochester 1926), p. 20.
65. Jean M. Dinse, "Private Art Collections in Rochester," *Rochester History*, July 1945, pp. 17-23; *Herald*, April 10 (12-3) 1910.
66. Dinse, *loc. cit.*, pp. 19-22, Geo. Eastman Papers, E. Kodak Co.
67. *Herald*, Feb. 10 (8-2), April 25 (8-3) 1899; Jan. 30 (9-5) 1901; Nov. 19 (9-4) 1903; *P. E.*, Feb. 27 (8-4) 1903.
68. *P. E.*, Dec. 5 (8-5) 1902; Jan. 20 (8-5), Jan. 28 (7-1), Feb. 24 (6-6) 1903.
69. *P. E.*, Oct. 19 (5-1) 1903; May 11 (11-2) 1906; *Herald*, Feb. 2 (6-5) 1905.
70. *P. E.*, Sept. 13 (8-6) 1910.
71. *P. E.*, May 19 (5-1) 1908.
72. *Herald*, Feb. 3 (11-1) 1910; Rochester Art Club, "Minutes," II: 180-183.
73. *Ibid.*, II: 193-226; *D. & C.*, July 28 (12-1) 1911; *P. E.*, Sept. 9 (9-3), Sept. 18 (4-5), Sept. 20 (4-6) 1912.
74. *Herald*, April 3 (Roto, p. 3) 1910; *The Common Good*, Oct. 1912, p. 17 and *passim*.
75. *D. & C.*, April 23, 1912.
76. *Herald*, Oct. 9 (9-3) 1913; *D. & C.*, Oct. 9, 1913.
77. *P. E.*, Mar. 7 (5-1) 1914; *D. & C.*, April 4 (20-2) 1915; *U. & A.*, May 8 (8-7) 1915; Art Club, "Minutes" II: 234-249.
78. *P. E.*, June 22 (5-2) 1914; *U. & A.*, June 12 (10-3) 1915.
79. *Times*, Dec. 1 (5-3) 1909; Art Club "Minutes" II:
80. *Herald*, Feb. 9, 1913; *P. E.*, Mar. 8 (5-1/3), Mar. 20 (4-2) 1913.
81. Memorial Art Gallery, *Annual Reports*, 1917-1919; *The Campus*, Mar. 14, 1919.
82. *The Cloister*, June 21, 1921.
83. Memorial Art Gallery, *Annual Reports* (1919-1923); Gallery "Scrapbook" clipping dated Jan. 24, 1923.
84. *Ibid.*, March 1923; *Herald*, Mar. 18, 1923.
85. Memorial Art Gallery, *Annual Reports* (1920).
86. *Ibid.*, (1921-24).
87. Rochester Art Club, "Minutes," 1918-1925.
88. Memorial Art Gallery, *Annual Reports* (1924, 1925).
89. Art Club "Minutes," 1924-1925.
90. Memorial Art Gallery *Report* (1924).

